/13 cont./

Negro de Narvaez, the principal rivers of Tierradentro. They drain into the Magdalena River, like all the rivers on the eastern slope of the Central Cordillera. The principal traffic routes of Tierradentro also lead to the Magdalena Valley, the most important one leading down to the Rio Paez by way of /14/ La Plata to Neiva or Garzón. Thus, La Plata forms the center of trade and communication for this area, which economically, however, is not yet very accessible.

Even the earliest chroniclers described Tierradentro as a land of "eternal up and down." As a matter of fact, despite its excellent climate for colonization, the large number of small rivers cutting deep into the mountains represents a great obstacle to accessibility for communication, without which more extensive agricultural production is not profitable. The impassability is one of the reasons that the Paez Indians here, with a total number of about 25,000 persons, have maintained themselves racially pure and, in a few mountain valleys, in a relatively original state culturally.

The climatic differences of this region lying less than three degrees of latitude north of the equator are considerable, depending on the elevation. Neiva, lying 472 meters high on the Magdalena River and the capital of the department of Huila, is one of the warmest cities of Colombia with an average temperature of 30°. Nevado del Huila, lying only 75 kilometers to the west in a straight line, is covered with eternal snow. In between there is an average temperature of 21° at 1,200 meters elevation and one of 11° at 3,000 meters. The predominant elevation of the settlements in the southern part of Tierradentro lies between 1,400 and 1,700 meters, which corresponds to a mean temperature of 18-20°. This is the best climate for the Colombian coffee. At the same time it is an excellent climate and elevation for the planting of sugar cane and maize and for cattle-raising, economic activities that only the colonists profit by in a commercial sense. The Paez villages lying in this climate are therefore extensively overrun by colonists, and broad stretches of land have been taken by them for agricultural use. Here the mountain slopes which

/103 cont./

127 We know little about the other Indian cultures of southern Colombia existing at the time of the Conquista. The conquistadors had tasks other than drawing up scientific ethnographic descriptions of their cruel enemies. Nevertheless, working with subtle methods, modern ethnological and linguistic research in the old sources has produced outstanding results.

114 Our knowledge is very inadequate with regard to the Paez, 127 who, with approximately 25,000 persons, constitute the largest [161] non-Spanish-speaking population group within Colombia, next to the Goajiro, the inhabitants of the Guajira Peninsula in the northern part of the country. The oldest dates come from [797] Eugenio Castillo i Orosco, who, from 1735-1755, was active as a missionary in Tálaga -- often at the risk of his life, as he reports -- and wrote down a vocabulary, a grammar, and some cultural data about the Paez. This manuscript was printed in 1877. Further ethnological data are given by the Colombian general, Carlos Cuervo Marquez, who, on his extensive journeys, also traveled through the Tierradentro region from north to south and produced the first reports about its archeological cultures. The next one, in terms of time, to report on the Paez was the American ethnologist, Henri Pittier de Fábrega, who in 1906, coming out of the central part of the Cauca Valley from the northwest by way of Corinto and Toribió, spent a few days in Tacueyó and Huila. Georg Bürg, who first investigated the archeological objects of Tierradentro more thoroughly, likewise lived for a time among the Paez and gives a few ethnographic notes in his report. In his comprehensive survey of the highland tribes of southern Colombia, Gregorio Hernandez de Alba also reports about the Paez, with whom he became acquainted in connection with his own research. Graciliano Arcila Velez undertook a blood-group examination on 303 Paez. The first thorough special study of Paez-culture from the standpoint of the religious and social life was made at the time of our stay in Tierradentro by the Director of the Archeological Park of San Andrés, Segundo Bernal Villa.

/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The [302] beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp. 265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A-B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

129 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

● 161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances -- quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and [132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre-
[562] quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can [242] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More-
[273] over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously, is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during [154] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given [262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

/312 cont./

539 when the thief again came, took down some potatoes, kindled a fire, and roasted them in it, he took out both of his eyes "out of foolishness" before he ate and laid them on one of the three hearth-stones. Then the owner of the potatoes, whom the thief, of course, could not see, stepped up, saw the eyes, and kicked them into the fire, so that they burned with a bang. The thief heard the bang, to be sure, but thought to himself, how fine the potatoes are popping and sizzling!

When the thief had eaten all the potatoes, he looked for his eyes, but could not find them. He then left the house very sadly, without eyes, and set out for his own house. On the way he met a rat who was out walking there, and they started a conversation. The thief complained that he had lost his eyes and that, without eyes, it was very difficult to find them again. He begged the rat to lend him one of hers only until he had found his own eyes again. The rat lent him one, but since both of his eyes were burned, he could not, of course, find them. The man then turned himself into wind.

The rat searched for the thief of her eye for a long time, but could not find him. Her son, like his mother, also had only one eye. The son in turn had a son, and he, too, had only one eye. Since that time the descendants of this rat family have only one eye. And that is why one can still find rats today who, to be sure, have the nose, mouth, feet, skin, and ears of a rat, but only one eye or none at all; they go back to that rat who once lent one of her eyes.

/313/

105 ## V. Summary and Culture-historical Classification of Paez Culture

[161] [621] [177] [197] If we briefly summarize the sketch of Paez life and the elements of their culture, we find before us a democratic agricultural people of 25,000 persons, among whom no one is master and no one servant. Surrounded for centuries by Spanish culture, they have preserved their language in extensive sections of their area of settlement.

/285 cont./

101 the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
361 Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[165] [193] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

/288 cont./
583 in the church, live together for a period of indeterminate duration, explaining that /289/ the man does not have enough money at hand to marry as soon as he asks the woman, and it is necessary to work in order to obtain it.

771 Religion.--The religion of the Paez is formally Catholicism,
177 but many of their traditions are hidden in it. The principal
[796] fiestas of the natives are religious ones, which acquire true strokes of splendor. The Catholic priest is called upon for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and cases of death.

Chapter II

631 Calderas.--Incrusted in the very heart of Tierradentro is the
131 Parcialidad of Calderas, bounded on the north by a high ridge
133 that separates it from Chinas and Avirama; on the east, La Muralla, the very model of a fault, separates it from Avirama, just as a ridge separates it from Togoima; to the south, deep gorges and high peaks separate it from San Andrés and Togoima; to the west, the Quebrada Guacharaca divides it from the Parcialidad of Lame.

133 It is crossed from west to east by the Quebrada Kukiyú,
631 actually a river in terms of the volume and violence of its
[423] waters, whose bed is deep, enclosed, and inaccessible. Its left bank is somewhat softened by a beautiful plateau of about 20 hectares, with fertile lands, abundant waters, and on which the pueblo rises; it belongs to the community, whereas the other lands are private property guaranteed by the fact that the owner either personally cleared the montaña or inherited it from his ancestors who cleared the forest. The right bank is steep, harsh,
[161] rugged. Numerous clearings are to be seen on these sloping
[311] lands, indicating the increase in population that compels them to cultivate lands of low fertility and great danger for the laborer.

361 /295 cont./
311 strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tfiaga,
643 Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique
175
[622]
[103]

3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tfiaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoques, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the
361 temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of
311 the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its
● 161 tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

13 2. Physiography. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow vegas with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow vegas of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places
13 where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank
241 of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agricul-
[233] ture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important vegas. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and guadua bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

/296 cont./

13 and are of very good quality. The wheat and coffee from the
241 municipio of Inzá enjoy a deserved reputation in the republic for the quantity and quality of their crops.

133 The Páez River receives approximately 32 watercourses on
134 the left bank, and 17 on the right. It is easy to imagine the ruggedness of the terrain if we bear in mind the fact that each
[241] one of them forms an impassable ravine. It is also easy to imagine the magnitude of the erosion, assisted by factors of a cultural nature, such as the systematic battle against herbaceous vegetation by means of the system of annual fires. The violence of the wild waters denudes and even forms veritable rivers of stone, such as are seen at the place called Vicanenga in the municipio of Páez. The streams and torrents sometimes swell to extraordinary proportions. In 1949 the Topa torrent completely washed away its small tributary valley, on which stood the hamlet known by the name of Brisas, now Valencia, a flood which was repeated in April of this year.

241 Of course, the extent of the workable land does not keep
133 pace with the increase in population. The physiography of the
134 cold thermal level, on the other hand, spreads out and flattens
[161] a little, the horizon broadens, the patches of arboreal vegetation increase, and the plots multiply, like veritable chessboards in Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó. Their soils nourish maize, wheat, potatoes, ullucos, nasturtium, and garlic. On the dividing lines between the plots there rise, like green walls, the plantings of cabuya.

161 3. Population density. The growth of the indigenous popu-
361 lation in general, and of the "white" one in particular, has
311 compelled the former to utilize lands increasingly more difficult, steep, /297/ and sterile, or to emigrate in search of uncultivated land. As early as the time of the Conquest we find notes on the spread of the Páez people to the western slopes of the Central Cordillera, forming such nuclei as Pitayó, Tacueyó, and San Francisco. Nowadays, we find Páez groups on the eastern slopes of the Western Cordillera in the department of Cauca, in the departments of Huila and Tolima, and in the Cauca Valley, as Páez

/297 cont./

161 outposts, the centers of Chinche and Potrerillos to the north of
311 the settlement of Palmira (4).
361

4. Duque Gómez, L. "Problemas Sociales de algunas parcialidades indígenas del Occidente de Colombia /Social problems of some native parcialidades of western Colombia/," p. 187.

Agriculture and horticulture

241 Agriculture and horticulture constitute the primary source
133 of subsistence for the Páez. It covers a wide hypsometric zone
[433] that goes from 1,000 meters (La Plata, Huila) to well beyond the contour line of 3,000 meters in altitude above sea level (Mosoco). Naturally, the species cultivated vary with the thermal level, and, consequently, the dietetic regimen. What do not vary are the methods of cultivation and, above all, the magical practices
241 associated with them. There are also variations in the extent
134 and the type of cultivable soils. Those used the most in Tierradentro are the ones included in the temperate thermal level. We have already discussed their fertility and extent. The soils of the cold thermal level are fertile and more extensive. Thick humus layers are found in Lame, Mosoco, San José, La Troja, Irlanda, Guanacas, Turminá, and Coscuro. These are, of course, truly privileged zones. Nevertheless, the soils are not rationally utilized or conserved. The land is exploited in an exhaustive manner. A clearing will not tolerate two consecutive plantings. Thus, each year new land, new clearing, new fencing, and new burning are required. After having been harvested once, the ground is abandoned, and in the course of the years it once more becomes covered with shrubs and thickets. After seven years, more or less, the land is again cleared of its underbrush, and the same cultivated species are planted once more. In Calderas, Santa Rosa, and Togoima, maize, arracacha, frijoles, cabbages, potatoes, and sometimes peas are planted. The process described earlier is typical of these parcialidades. In Mosoco and the cold parts generally, maize, potatoes, /298/ broad beans, and frijoles are planted in the same clearing, and

Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
Pineapple	**Ananas comosus (L) Camargo**	*chaká*
Granadilla	**Passiflora Ligularis Juss.**	*shkal*
Coffee	**Coffea Arabiga L.**	*café*
Ground cherry	**Physalis sp.**	*chimbá*
Chachafruto	**Erythrina edulis Triana ex Micheli**	*sisel*
Pepino	**Solanum muricatum Ait.**	*pina*
Yam	**Dioscorea sp.**	*shuí*
Other cultivated plants:		
Coca	**Erythroxylon coca Lam.**	*esh*
Bamboo	**Guadua angustifolia Kunth**	*mum*
Bottle gourd	**Lagenaria vulgaris Serg.**	*tuka*
Calabash tree	**Crescentia cujete L.**	*shipuka*
Cabuya	**Foucrea cabuya Trel.**	*bats*
Dill	**Anethum graveolens L.**	*llinojo*
Mint	**Mentha viridis L.**	*tachá*
Rue	**Ruta graveolens.**	*luda*

In reality, as far as a certain type of frijole that the natives call "kacha" is concerned, as well as the ground cherry, the chachafruto, fruits in general, and all the plants listed under "Other cultivated plants," with the exception of coca, the word "cultivated" is unsuitable, since they are practically in a semiwild state. The natives make use of their fruits, consumption thus being occasional and not always necessary.

Although it would appear that the territory of the Páez, at the time of the Conquest, extended up to very close to the Magdalena River, the principal nucleus of the population was located in the temperate zone and in the cold zone. The thermal levels determine the zones of cultivation. One of them goes from 1,000 to 2,000 meters and includes the entire valley of the Páez from Huila to La Plata, and the middle and lower courses of its tributaries Símbola, the river Negro de Narváez, Moras, Kukiyú, and Ullucos. Within it are located the capitals of the district, Inzá and Belalcázar, and the following native aldeas: Itaibe, Chitóquez (Ricaurte), Cuetando, Yaquivá, San Andrés de Pisimbalá, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Avirama, Chinas, Suin, Tálaga, Toez y Huila (Byla), as well as Valencia, Topa, Pedregal, and Turminá. They cultivate principally plantains, manioc, maize, sugar cane, frijoles, arracacha, coca, and coffee.

[San Andrés]

/345 cont./

427 San Andrés is the sole region of Tierradentro, as far as we
161 know, where tenant farmers are found. Although the number of persons sunk in this servitude is no higher than 100, the mere occurrence of this phenomenon already tells us of an excess of population, at least in the parcialidades of San Andrés and Santa
[131] Rosa, from which the tenant farmers came. On the other hand, the scattering of the Páez group through this very department of Cauca, the departments of Huila and Tolima, and even through
[311] the department of the Valle is well known. The colonization of the uncultivated lands in Tierradentro by the natives has been systematic and intensive during recent years. There is the utilization of ever more inaccessible lands for agriculture in the temperate thermal level. All of these are factors that clearly tell us of an excess in the Páez population.

427 Here is what a tenant farmer told us about the phenomenon
241 of tenant farming: As a tenant farmer he has the right to own a
466 house, a garden, and a clearing. The house and garden are contiguous and complementary. His garden occupies one plaza /a Colombian measure with 80 meters to the side/ more or less, and in it he has planted plantains (about 200 trees), oranges (about five trees), onions, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and some 200 coca trees. He has surrounded the garden with barbed wire provided by the owner in order to avoid damage by the animals of the hacienda. He can lay out his clearing on any site of the hacienda. It changes every year. In his present clearing he has planted 1,500 manioc plants; 200 of arracacha (he could not find more seed); maize; small frijoles /fríjol chiquito/ (in one month he hills the "sprigs," in two months they flower, and in three months he harvests) and large frijoles /fríjol grande/, and, finally, about two loads of sugar-
[433] cane shoots (seed). The produce of the clearing and of the garden is primarily for consumption, but if there is a surplus he may sell it to anyone, even though the owner urges him not
[249] to sell to anyone but himself. The sugar cane is milled in the
[257] /346/ sugar mill of the owner, with the subsequent use of his implements to make panela, half of what is produced being given to him.

7:Hemández de Alba E-5/4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

P 175 648

The captain was, therefore, like the aboriginal hereditary cacique, the chief of each aboriginal group.

The decrease of the native population was accelerated until, in the Province of Popayán, according to "Descripción del Reyno de Santa Fé de Bogotá," by Francisco Silvestre (1927), there were in 1789 only 64,463 inhabitants—3,603 families of Whites, 6,022 of Indians, 4,793 of freemen (Negroes), and 3,247 slaves (Negroes), who worked in the mines and haciendas and replaced the Indians, who were disappearing. When the revolution against Spain began, the various groups of Indians in this region behaved very differently, each according to the disposition previously shown. The *Pasto* followed the Spanish troops, forming a royalist unit that was difficult to conquer, whereas the *Páez* took the part of the Republic and were led by the celebrated Indian Chief, Gregorio Calambás, who was shot by Warleta, and thus became a martyr of Colombian Independence.

P [161]
Po [175] [648]

With the consolidation of the Republic, the laws of Colombia established reservations for the Indians, but the neglect and exploitation characteristic of the Colonial Period continued, and there were only a few missions. There has not been contemplated until now any economic, cultural, or sanitary betterment of these natives. Most of them finally have disappeared, vanquished by diseases, by economic want, which the new necessities created and contact with civilization aggravated, and by the shrinkage of their reservation lands through the ambition of those who made it a policy to break up the native communities through official subdivision of their lands.

THE CULTURE OF THE PASTO, COAIQUER, QUILLACINGA, AND POPAYANENSE

The *Pasto* or *Coaiquer*, the *Quillacinga*, and the *Popayanense* formed a culturally homogeneous group at the time of the Conquest and later experienced very similar acculturation.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming.—Subsistence was based on intensive horticulture. Each family had its own small fields and grew potatoes and other tubers, xíquimas, a grain which Cieza calls cebada, quinio or quinoa, and maize, of which there was little in *Pasto* territory but much elsewhere.

A simple, pointed stick is used today in Nariño for planting.

The historians do not mention communal work in agriculture, but probably it was carried out in the form of labor loans (minga) between individuals, as today in Nariño and Cauca. The beneficiary of help in harvesting crops has to give each helper a basketful of the produce, a form of compensation called "chindé." He is also obligated to give similar help to the others. This communal labor is more solemn when the Indians work and plant the lands of the